

VERTICAL FILE

J. M. C. Opening address, 1861.

Wm W Taggart with organs  
of D Hayes Agnew.

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## BARON LARREY.

BY

D. HAYES AGNEW, M. D.

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120 N. 1st St. N. Y.  
 N. Y. 10001.



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# LECTURE.

BY

D. HAYES AGNEW, M.D.,

SURGEON TO THE PHILADELPHIA HOSPITAL, LECTURER ON ANATOMY, ETC., ETC.

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PUBLISHED FOR THE CLASS.

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PHILADELPHIA:

LINDSAY & BLAKISTON.

1861.



Dr. D. Hayes Adams.

Dear Sir—At a meeting of your class held last evening, Mr. George L. Foster of Philadelphia, acting as President, and Mr. Thomas Thompson, of Philadelphia, acted as Secretary. The meeting was attended by a committee to report on the report of your committee on the subject of the proposed

It is with the greatest pleasure that I have received of the news which, and of its being the most important of the kind, I have been able to find. I am, therefore, with the highest commendation, very respectfully,  
Yours respectfully,  
D. Hayes Adams.

Thomas H. Hayes, Jr., of Pennsylvania.

J. W. Hayes, of New Jersey.

E. M. Hayes, of Maryland.

L. H. Hayes, of Delaware.

James Hayes, of Ohio.

W. M. Hayes, of Pennsylvania.

Thomas H. Hayes, Jr., of Pennsylvania.

D. HAYES ADAMS, M.D.

PHILADELPHIA, October 1st, 1851.

October 1st, 1851.  
To Messrs W. H. Hayes, A. W. Hayes, J. M. Hayes and others.  
Gentlemen—I acknowledge the receipt of your letter containing the details of the proposed meeting of the Association of the Friends of the Cause of the Freedmen. I am very glad to hear that you are so interested in the subject, and I am sure that the meeting will be a success. I am, therefore, with the highest commendation, very respectfully,  
Yours respectfully,  
D. Hayes Adams.

HENRY B. ASHMEAD, BOOK AND JOB PRINTER,  
Nos. 1102 and 1104 Sansom Street.

LINDSAY & BATHURSTON,  
No. 10 North Second St.

1851.



DR. D. HAYES AGNEW.

Dear Sir,—At a meeting of your class held last evening, Mr. George L. Porter, of Pennsylvania, acting as President, and Mr. Ebenezer Thompson, of Newfoundland, as Secretary, we, the undersigned, were appointed a committee to request a copy of your Introductory Lecture for publication.

We do it with the greater pleasure, also, both because of its own worth, and of its being the most complete and extensive sketch of the life of Baron Larrey yet produced in the English language.

With the highest consideration, we remain,

Very respectfully, yours,

WILLIAM W. KEEN, JR., of Pennsylvania, J. W. YOUNG, of New Jersey, D. M. CHESTON, of Maryland, L. K. BALDWIN, of Delaware, LUCIUS BOLLES, of Rhode Island, R. M. GIRVIN, of Pennsylvania, LUCIEN H. KENDALL, of Pennsylvania, G. D. TOWNSEND, of Rhode Island, MARSHALL S. PERRY, of Massachusetts, CHAS. H. BOARDMAN, of Pennsylvania,	}	Committee.
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PHILADELPHIA, *October 17th*, 1861.

*October 18th*, 1861.

TO MESSRS. WM. W. KEEN, J. W. YOUNG, D. M. CHESTON AND OTHERS.

Gentlemen,—I acknowledge the receipt of your letter containing the flattering resolution of the Anatomical Class, requesting for publication a copy of my recent Lecture. Although it was not prepared with such a view, I do not, under the circumstances, feel at liberty to refuse placing it at your disposal.

The materials from which this sketch was prepared, were mainly collected from the campaigns of Larrey, written by himself, and have been so compressed as not to do justice by any means to the subject. Should, however, this feeble tribute to the memory of a truly great man be in any degree instrumental in exciting among American military surgeons an ambition to emulate his virtues, his industry, and his courage, it will be the most gratifying return which the writer could wish for any labour bestowed in its preparation.

Very truly, your obedient servant,

D. HAYES AGNEW,

No. 16 North Eleventh St.







## LECTURE.

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WHEN the Goths had become the subjugators of Athens, in the usual spirit of barbarian annihilation, they collected all the literature of that classic age into one great pile in order to commit it to the flames. This design was frustrated by their being told that the Greeks while amusing themselves with such subjects, would be rendered unfit for war, and remain therefore an easy prey to their new masters. Theodoric, that stern Gothic prince, whose arms, and prowess form so conspicuous a page in the history of the early part of the christian era, denied all instruction to the children of his subjects, declaring that the lad who trembled at the rod, would never look undaunted at the sword or spear. Notwithstanding such testimony, there is an overwhelming mass of evidence tending to prove, that the rational pursuits of civil life, do not enervate a people, or render them incapable of either using, or defending their liberty. A cultivated civilization reduces force to scientific formulas, and creates among belligerents a system of acknowledged obligations, which diminishes vindictive excess, and cruelty. Nor, on the other hand is it true that war, deprecate it as we may, is incompatible with the cultivation of letters. During the middle ages when the sword, not logic, was the great arbiter of opinion, learning was not extinguished; she only retired from the popular view, to work out her problems in the secluded chambers of the cloister; and at a later period, when the Greek Empire was overturned by the Mahomedans, Western Europe glowed with the concentrated labours of scholarship. Indeed, those eras in the world's history remarkable for revolution, have been no less distinguished for earnest



thought, and intellectual vigour. From the earliest records of history the physician has been regarded as one of the most important attaches of an army. Here as everywhere else, his errand is one of blessing and mercy; labouring to mitigate and repair, by the beneficent resources of his skill, the multi-form accidents which are incident to such a calling. Without a systematic enforcement of the sanitary measures so well established by his science, the best appointed army must melt away from disease, which always proves the most serious enemy encountered by the soldier. War, therefore, has, in some measure, been the nursery of medical science, and contributed largely to establish many of her principles on the immutable basis of truth, and to confer on many names an immortality as lasting as time. The object of the speaker, on the present occasion, is to present a sketch of one, who stands most prominent among military surgeons, and whose example may serve as a model for imitation, by many of our own professional countrymen, at a period when events portend a struggle of no ordinary magnitude.

Jean Dominique Larrey, commonly known as Baron Larrey, was a native of Baudean, near the upper Pyrenees, formerly belonging to the province of Bigorre, and was born in July, 1766. Though of honorable parentage, their circumstances in life were so limited as to render them unable to give their son an education, corresponding to either his natural capacities, or their earnest desires. From the benevolent curate of the village, he was enabled to glean the elements of an ordinary education. After the decease of his father, and at the tender age of thirteen years, he turns his back (as many a young man has before him) upon the scenes of his early days, and went to Toulon to prosecute his studies under the charge of an uncle, Alexis Larrey, a man holding honorable rank in his profession, being first surgeon and physician to the hospital of *La Grave*, and a corresponding associate of the Royal Academy of Surgery in Paris. There was much in the gentle heart and strong intellect of the young man to command both the affection and respect of the uncle; and it was not long before he shared all



the privileges of a son. His elementary studies were prosecuted in the College of Esquile, and in the schools of Medicine and Surgery at Toulouse; and after six years application, anxious to command all the advantages which could conduce towards his advancement in the science he had espoused, his ambition led him to the Capitol of France, which was reached in August, 1787, at the age of twenty-one years. Only a few days had he been in Paris, when a *concours* for assistant surgeons of the navy, for the department of Brest, was announced by Louis, secretary of the Academy. Offering himself as a candidate, the result proved favorable; and his name was returned among the successful applicants. At Brest, in common with the others, he was subjected to a further examination in order to determine the question of rank, where his qualifications were discovered to be so superior, as to elevate him to the position of chief surgeon at the age of twenty-one years.

The fleet to which he was assigned was intended for Holland; but a peace having been completed with England, these ships were disbanded: Larrey, however, was retained and assigned to duty on the frigate *Vigilante*. This vessel which was destined for Newfoundland, did not sail until May, 1788, the spring following his appointment.

During the winter, while waiting orders for departure, we discover the marks of his future successful career, in a course of lectures on Anatomy and Surgery, delivered by him to the young students present, and in which is displayed a laudable ambition, zeal and self-confidence. To one who, like Sallust, closely watched the deportment and habits of men, as the external operations of internal life and thought, it was not difficult to foresee in the activity, inquisitiveness, and versatility of observation, which characterized the surgeon at Brest, all the elements of that character which shined so resplendent in future life. He visits the galley slaves, arsenals, ship yards, and every locality where he could gather any knowledge of navigation, or other matters pertaining to his new position.

It was among these galley slaves he met with Louis Bourbon,



an old man, who, for thirty-three years, had been incarcerated in dungeons, shut out from the light of heaven, and whose eyes had so changed from the abstraction of their accustomed stimulus, as to see only at night, rendering him totally blind during the day. Passionately fond of music, this unfortunate prisoner amused his tedious hours with the flute, which was so constantly his companion, that his wrist had worn by absorption a depression in the ribs against which it rested, in the ordinary support of the instrument. It was among this class also, while prosecuting his studies by post mortem examinations, he met with an interesting case of transposition of the thoracic and abdominal viscera, together with various other anomalies, records of which were carefully preserved. Under the care and foresight of Larry, in providing the proper stores, and enforcing a rigid observance of every hygienic measure feasible, this voyage was one of remarkable success; not a single individual of the crew falling a victim to disease, and only two deaths having occurred; that of the second mate and a marine, who were lost overboard, in the road of St. Pierre, during a severe storm. During this cruise his mind, in addition to the more immediate duties of his office, was actively engaged with the navigation, natural history, and geography of the western regions; the inhabitants, their habits and industrial pursuits; the plants and animals, all formed the subjects of his ardent study.

After his return, he went to Paris, October 31st, 1788, on furlough. Chagrined by an act of manifest injustice on the part of the minister of war, refusing to confirm the position of *interne* to the *Hôtel des Invalides* for which he had been reported by a board of Examiners, he left Paris again for Brest. Shortly after, however, he was recalled, and returned by a *concours*, whose action was confirmed, as second surgeon to this same hospital.

Every reader of history is acquainted with the frequent intestine strifes in and around the Capitol of France, which preceded the debut of Bonaparte into political and revolutionary life. Many of these, such as took place in the garden



of the Tuilleries, Bastile, and Champ de Mars, were bloody affairs: large numbers of the wounded were carried to the hospital for invalids, and came consequently under the care of Larrey; and here commenced his earliest opportunities for observing fractures and gunshot accidents, and here he enjoyed the matured instructions of the learned Sabatier, and Billiard.

At that period, Desault was the illustrious teacher at the Hotel Dieu, and he was not backward in availing himself of the clinical teachings of this deservedly esteemed great man, and from whom he acknowledges having obtained many valuable lessons.

It was while connected with this hospital, that Larrey was called to the wife of a butcher, whose life was in imminent danger in consequence of a carbuncle seated over the angle of the jaw; two of her sons had already perished from the disease, in consequence of which, her physicians regarding the attack as contagious, became alarmed and deserted the poor woman to her fate. The course which he adopted, and which saved the patient's life, was one, the wisdom of which is now well understood by every surgeon; namely, free incisions, the application of caustic, and the exhibition of tonics, with good diet.

#### CAMPAIGN OF THE RHINE.

On the declaration of open hostilities by France, Larrey was appointed by the minister of war, surgeon-major to the hospitals of the army of the Rhine under command of Marshal Luckner, whose head quarters were at Strasburg, though afterward this campaign opened under lieutenant-general Custine. In April, 1792, he repaired to the commander's quarters, and busied himself in making every preparation for the contingencies of the war, among which was the organization of a school, or society of conversation, in which were considered topics immediately connected with military surgery.

On the 29th of September, 1792, General Custine commen-



ced his march toward Spire in order to cross the Rhine, with an army of twenty thousand men, under the most splendid discipline, the advanced guard having been attacked on the banks of that river by the troops under Mirabew and Conde. It was after the treacherous attack, subsequent to the capitulation, by the authorities of Spire, in which many of the French soldiers were wounded, that Larrey discovered the great defect in the arrangements for affording prompt relief to such as fell on the field of battle. The regulations made it necessary that the moveable hospitals, or ambulances, should be one league or three miles, from the army; the wounded were not removed until after the battle, when they were collected together in some favorable situation, to which the extemporaneous hospitals were moved for their accommodation. When all the circumstances consequent to a hardly contested field are taken into consideration, interrupting and embarrassing free progress, it is not surprising that from twenty-four to thirty-six hours should elapse, before succor could reach the unfortunate soldier;—these facts, in connection with the affair at Limbourg, in which Houchard, even after gaining the battle against the troops of the King of Prussia, was compelled to abandon his wounded, retreating in the night in consequence of the unexpected arrival of strong reinforcements to the enemy; these circumstances, I say, suggested to the inventive mind of Larrey the scheme of the *flying ambulance*, now so familiar to our own people, and by means of which the wounded are carried from the field during the progress of the fight. For this humane and invaluable contrivance, he received many flattering notices from the Commander-in-Chief, and also General Beauharnais, who, in his reports to the National Convention, speaks of him in terms of distinguished commendation. I need not stop here, gentlemen, to speak of this invaluable arm to the medical department of an army; it diminishes war of much of its fatality, and inspires the ranks with additional courage and confidence, by bringing to the fallen soldier succor and surgical aid, within that period of time in which accumulated experience has well established it must come, or never.



His first opportunity for testing the practical operation of the flying ambulance had well nigh proved fatal to its author. By permission of General Custine he was allowed to repair with them, to an advanced body of the army on the snow clad mountains of Obenuchel, sent there to check the advance of the Austrians through one of the narrow passes of this range. Their movements were communicated to the enemy by a deserter, who, in consequence of such information, was enabled to surround the French force; their situation seemed hopeless to the penetration of ordinary men, when Houchard having carefully ascertained their weakest point, by a bold and dextrous manœuvre, extricated himself from this critical position, the ambulances bringing away the wounded. Shortly after this their value became permanently established in those sanguinary conflicts, which took place on the heights of Cassel, and Altzey, and at Krentznach, and Stomberg. After the capitulation of Spire, and the surrender of Mentz on the 21st of October, 1792, where the principal base of operations was established, it being one of the strongest places in Europe, Larrey being the senior assistant surgeon, was charged with the direction of the medical staff, and hospitals of the army. During his stay at Mentz, he attended the anatomical lectures of the celebrated Soemmering, and aided Strak in his experiments with galvanism, the first which had been made; and where he had an opportunity to apply the fluid to the nerves, and muscles of a recently amputated limb, from the effects of which, he predicated its probable value in the future, when employed to energize paralyzed limbs. It was here, while profiting by the common duties of the hospital, he invented the lancet pointed needle with the groove leading from the eye, into which the suture sink, and for which the Royal Academy of Surgery, at that time having under discussion matters kindred to this, decreed him a gold medal of a hundred livres value. In order that his pupils might be profited by their position, he was in the habit of making examinations of all who died in the hospitals, and communicating instruction in normal and pathological anatomy, and effectually exposed, at this time,



the error of those, who attributed certain injuries, to the windage of projectiles. After the bloody battle, which was fought July 22nd, 1793, with a view to raise the siege of Landau, and Mentz, the military surgeons received the first official notice of the generals and government in regard to their service.

Says Beauharnais, in his report to the Convention, after noticing certain other parties, "among those who brilliantly served the Republic on this day were the Surgeon-major Larrey, with his companions of the flying ambulance, whose indefatigable attentions to the wounded, have contributed essentially to the cause of humanity and their country." Shortly after this victory, a treasonable communication resulted in the route of the army from Weissemberg; in the retreat Larrey was wounded in the leg, and came well nigh falling a victim to the pursuing legions of the enemy. The prestige, however, of the French arms was soon re-established by the union of this division with that of the Moselle; and under the young Hoche accomplished prodigies of valor in that remarkable engagement, almost without a parallel in history, which lasted for seventeen days of uninterrupted fighting, and which resulted in the Prussians retiring from the field, and filling the hospitals with wounded men.

It was during this campaign, and more especially from the opportunities for observation furnished by this battle, that Larrey was able to convince himself of the value of primary amputations: a conclusion which all his subsequent experience tended to confirm, although directly adverse to the authority of Faure and others, whose decisions on this subject were regarded by many as final. The conservative tendencies of his mind are discernible likewise in the many operations which he mentions having performed at this time, particularly those through the tarsus and metatarsus, together with exsection of the head of the humerus. The immense importance of the ambulance organization in the campaign of the Rhine, determined the Generals to establish them in all the divisions of



the army, for which purpose Larrey departed for Paris, in April, 1794.

#### CAMPAIGN IN CORSICA.

##### *The Maritime Alps and Catalonia.*

The Republic having fitted out a fourth army destined for Corsica, a commission as its chief Surgeon was placed in his hand immediately on his arrival, defeating for a time the principal object of his visit, and requiring him to repair at once to Toulon; notwithstanding which, he found time to consummate an engagement of a very tender nature, by marrying the daughter of M. Leroux, Minister of Finance under Louis XVI.

On his journey to headquarters he passed through Toulouse, the place with which were identified many of the events of those years, when he was a student in the office of his uncle. At Montpellier he stops to visit its renowned University, and tender those respects to the professors which are always due to distinguished learning. To his astonishment, he is received with such cordiality and marked attention as almost to embarrass him with ingenuous surprise. His veneration for genius and goodness next leads him to visit the monument erected in the Botanical Gardens to the daughter of Young; and to gratify his antiquarian taste, he directs his course to Nimes, where are still to be seen the remains of ancient Roman architecture. On arriving at Toulon, he presents himself to the officers of the army, and among them General Bonaparte, commander of the artillery.

At the request of M. Heurteloup, inspector of hospitals, he examined the surgeons and hospitals connected with the army at Nice and the Maritime Alps, and was charged with the management of the surgical staff of the grand hospital. In consequence of the blockade by the English, they were detained at Nice, where, for the benefit of his professional associates, he delivered lectures on pathological anatomy and surgery. Having been fortunate in restoring several drowned



persons to life, he details a very judicious course of treatment with a view to resuscitation, and describes very accurately the post mortem appearances found in the organs of such as perish in this manner.

Believing he could be more useful in a position of greater activity, he goes, by invitation from the representatives of the people, to the army in Eastern Spain, to assume the directorship of its surgical staff, in place of Messieurs Boizot and Benezeck, both of whom were, in a measure, incapacitated for much labor from advanced age. The headquarters were at Junquiere, where he arrived in January, 1794. The Spaniards at the entrance of the plain of Figuières, made a determined stand, and although their redoubts were carried at the point of the bayonet, yet, having mined them for such an emergency, the train was fired when the battlements were covered with soldiers, blowing them into the air together. This catastrophe, with the fall of Dugommier, chief commander, who expired on the field, rendered this success of the army very incomplete. Seven hundred were wounded, most of whom were dressed by Larrey himself, within the first twelve hours succeeding the occurrence. Many of the injuries were the result of burns consequent on the explosion; and the force of his observations relative to the necessity of a generous diet in the management of such, will command the assent of modern observation. Among the important operations which he performed, may be noticed a successful amputation at the shoulder-joint; the amputation of both thighs on the person of a soldier, and of a thigh and an arm in the case of a second, both of whom perfectly recovered, and became very much loaded with fat; and to compensate, as he alleged, for diminution in the extent of the nutritive circle, each had afterwards two evacuations daily.

After the capture of Roses and Figueires, 1795, Spain sued for peace, and Larrey was ordered to his former post at Toulon, to join the Mediterranean expedition. As this was likely to be delayed for some time, he returns by permission to Paris in 1796, to recruit his health and enjoy for a time the



society of his family. Even here, however, he was not exempt from active duty, as the intestine troubles in the suburb of St. Antoine occupied both himself and ambulances. Again he is ordered to Toulon, where, at the request of many naval and army surgeons, he commenced a course of lectures on anatomy and clinical surgery. These demonstrations took a physiological direction, and were illustrated by vivi-sections. His professional duties here, both in and out of the hospitals, furnished him the materials for an excellent memoir on the "*Malignant Tumor*," or *Anthrax*: and he details among other things, the successful treatment of several cases of paralysis of the lower extremities by the moxa, and also a case of lithotomy which he performed on a female patient.

In the midst of his official duties he is unexpectedly ordered by the Minister of War to Paris, to discharge the functions of a professor in the military school at Val-de-Grace.

#### CAMPAIGN IN ITALY.

When almost through with his course on anatomy, an urgent order from the Minister of War, issued at the request of Bonaparte, and the Commissary General, Villemansky, calls him to Italy, there to organize the ambulances for the contemplated campaign, May 1, 1797. Notwithstanding the rapid travel to Milan, he did not fail to notice particularly that remarkable road over one of the highest mountains of the Alpine chain, cut in some places through solid rock to the depth of sixty feet, and which forms a noble monument to the enterprise of Emmanuel II., King of Sardinia; nor did the miserable inhabitants of the Maurienne, deformed by immense goitres, and imbecile in mind, escape either his observation or commiseration. The dangerous passage of Mount Cenis, covered with snow and storm-clouds is accomplished at no small peril, and he tarries for a little to admire the royal magnificence of Turin, before entering the plains of Italy. When he reached Milan a peace was about being signed, yet the preparation of the flying ambulances was considered still a prudential mea-



sure; and at the request of the Commissary General, Villemansky, he accompanied him on a tour of inspection of all parts of the army in order to effect a thorough organization of both ambulance and hospital departments.

This service commenced on the 25th May, 1797, at Lodi, famous for the terrible passage of its wooden bridge: from thence they went to Cremona, where, after establishing three military hospitals, they left for Mantua. His taste for the fine arts found abundant matter for gratification in the works which adorned her galleries, many of which were from the pencil of Julius Romain or Carraccio; he visits the grotto where Virgil is said to have composed those works which have secured for his genius an immortality of fame; and from here he passed successively through St. Benedetto, Verona, Vicence and Padua. At the latter place, it is not surprising that one so thoroughly imbued with the spirit of his profession should visit the mausoleums which contained the ashes of such men as Moragagni, Vesalius and Marchetis. Having paid those rational honors which genius always accords to the sepulchres of the great dead, they next visit Venice, the city which rises with majestic presence amidst the waters of the Adriatic. Here nothing seems to have escaped his notice, from the square of St. Marc to the palace of the Doge, filled with crowning works of a Titian, or a Paul Veronese. In this city he established two hospitals, and organized the medical staff of the expedition against Corfu. While here, his attention was called by the Commissary General to the condition of a ship in which an epidemic had carried off 250 men, while at the Ionian isles. He is sent also to the towns of Palma, Nueva, Gemmona and Ossopo, in which places a fatal malady was prevailing. A thorough investigation was undertaken, frequently at great personal exposure, and measures enforced for its eradication. The success which followed thorough ventilation, fumigations, and other disinfecting agencies employed, was so apparent, that Villemansky decreed the organization of a sanitary board and school of military surgery, wherever large bodies of troops and hospitals were concentrated.



At this time a fatal disease was destroying the cattle of the Venetian Frioul: his interest in the well-being of even the inferior animals, led him to institute a careful inquiry into this singular affection. Repeated examinations of their dead bodies exhibited a uniformity of internal lesions sufficient to furnish a clew to its pathology, and proceeding on such knowledge he was able to propose a course of treatment, the success of which induced the government of Udino, not only to circulate printed directions for the public information, but likewise to address him, in 1797, a letter conveying sentiments of compliment and gratitude. The last two sentences of that official paper, which I will quote, to a mind like Baron Larrey's, I have no doubt yielded more unmixed gratification than would have the most costly largess bestowed by royal hands. "Our impoverished circumstances prevent us from testifying our gratitude in any other way than by the lively and sincere expression of it. You will, however, enjoy the satisfaction of reflecting, that you mitigated the distresses of the inhabitants of an unhappy country, by enabling them to preserve their cattle so necessary to their own subsistence." After these duties had been finished, he accompanied, by request, General Desaix to Trieste; the hero of Kell having come to visit Bonaparte, and pass over his victorious fields. Shortly after their return to Udino the peace of Campo Formio was ratified, and General Bonaparte made a review of the several divisions of his army. The completeness of the ambulance organization, and the manœuvres which they executed in his presence, received the marked interest and approval of the commander-in-chief. On his return from this tour of inspection he stopped at Pavia, where he tendered his respects to Spalanzi, and the no less distinguished Scarpa, the latter of whom presented him with a copy of his treatise on the nerves of the heart. On reaching Milan he prepared the report of his services, which drew forth the most unqualified expressions of approbation from the commander-in-chief, and as the restoration of peace terminated his mission, he returned to Paris to resume his duties as professor in the military hospital of Val-de-Grace, 1797. In the midst



of his course, by order of the government, he is sent as one of the chief surgeons to the headquarters of General Desaix, at Lille. This division of the army was intended to operate against the English, but before he had set out, his commission was altered by another, which transferred him to Toulon, in order to accompany the Mediterranean expedition. The regrets expressed, and the many marks of friendship and attachment manifested by the pupils of the military school on his departure, were engraven, as he says, indelibly on his heart.

#### CAMPAIGNS IN EGYPT AND SYRIA.

Unexpectedly to himself, on the 13th of May, 1798, he embarked as Surgeon-in-chief to an army of thirty thousand men, under General Bonaparte, and designed for the campaigns of Egypt and Syria. Anxious to secure the good will of the government in so important an expedition, ample provisions were made in the preparation of hospital stores and dressings. Unfortunate for the sick and wounded, the vessel containing these was captured by the English before she reached her destination. On the 19th of May the squadron sailed from Toulon, amidst the firing of cannon, the sound of martial music, and the most extravagant manifestations of popular joy. On the 10th of June, 1798, Malta surrendered after a few days siege, and Larrey establishes at Berkarkara, the city of the ancient Knights, a properly provided hospital. On the 18th of June they weighed anchor, and in twelve days appeared before Alexandria. Apprehending rightly that this expedition was designed for Egypt, he had been studying diligently all sources of information on the climate and diseases, and exhibited his wisdom and forethought in having prepared instructions for the medical corps, relative to the influence of the country on Europeans, as well as the measures necessary to combat pestilential disease. The walls of Alexandria were carried by assault after three hours fighting, in which 250 were wounded, including General Kleber; these were moved



to the convent of the Capuchins, in which he had established a hospital.

After organizing the staff of the permanent hospitals, and also the light ambulances, into five divisions, corresponding with those of the army, and arranging a sixth as a *corps de reserve*, retained near himself, the commander-in-chief moved towards Cairo, 6th July, 1798, leaving Alexandria under the care of General Kleber. Here commenced a march of great suffering and distress, over unmeasured tracts of Libyan sands; scorched by the sun, and parched for want of water, many of the ablest of the troops, those who were familiar with, and long inured to all the privations of a soldier's life, sank under their arms; or, if they chanced to lag behind, were cut off by bands of Arabs, who hung constantly on the skirts of the army. One of the surgeons of the army was in this way seized and destroyed, by these marauders of the desert. Many died in a state of asphyxia, describing their feelings as those of indescribable pleasure and transport; as though Nature, to compensate for the toil, struggle, and suffering of weary days, had taken away the sting of death, and regaled their failing spirits with dissolving views of supernatural splendor. After five days they reach Damanhour, the taking of which afforded them a temporary relief. Shortly after the town of Rahhimanieh, and the banks of the Nile, appear to their delighted vision, where, like the returning Greeks, as related by Xenophon, they rushed into its welcome waters, to lave their exhausted limbs, and renovate their enfeebled frames. Along this historic river grew, in great profusion, the most luscious melons, and upon which the army subsisted for several days, until a diarrhoea of considerable obstinacy was produced. Engagements of a slight nature took place at several points in their progress, until finally they encountered the main body of the Mamelukes, between the pyramids and the Nile, where a sanguinary struggle occurred with these fierce sons of the desert, resulting in their utter defeat. In this engagement the French army had two hundred and sixty wounded, for the accommodation of which Larrey established a hospital in the



castle of Gizeh. On the 25th of July, 1798, they occupied Cairo, and immediately after, a portion of their force left in pursuit of Ibrahim Bey. It was at Saleyhel that the retreating chief made a stubborn stand, and where they learned, for the first time, the power of Damascus blades, wielded by the dextrous arms of the finest horsemen in the world. Many of these encounters were hand to hand conflicts, and the clash of steel was for a time like the sound of a thousand hammers rebounding from as many anvils. It was here that Destris, a chief in one of the brigades of hussars, received seven large sabre wounds, some of which divided both muscles and bones, besides receiving a musket ball in the thorax, for which an operation for emphysema was performed, and from all of which he recovered perfectly.

At Cairo he established a school of practical surgery, for the benefit of the junior surgeons; and as there existed many conflicting views in regard to the ophthalmia of the east, he prepared a memoir on the disease, the first of the kind published, for the benefit of the staff, and which is well worthy of a perusal, for the soundness of the views introduced, both as to its nature and treatment. The English who afterwards effected a landing at Aboukir, by defeating the French squadron, suffered immensely with this affection, until they adopted the treatment suggested by Larrey, and which they learned by finding his memoir in the hospital of Rosetta.

On the 21st of October, 1798, a revolt occurred at Cairo, in which he was exposed to great personal risk. Dupay, the general in command, was mortally wounded by a lance dividing the axillary artery; in the midst of his murderers, Larrey passed to his relief, where he lay covered with blood; from thence he forced his way to one of the hospitals, entertaining well-grounded fears for its safety, and where he found the mangled bodies of two noble surgeons, who had magnanimously sacrificed their own lives in devotion to the defenceless inmates.

General Desaix, who had been gradually pushing his forces beyond the cataracts, at last completed the conquest of Upper



Egypt, by the decisive battle of Sedment. In this last engagement, the French arms, Larrey declares, never were more brilliant; for among all the nations whom they had encountered, never before had any manifested such desperate valor and daring as did the Mamelukes on that eventful field. It was this victory which opened the way for the commission on arts; its members afterwards visiting Thebes, and the temples of Carnak and Luxor, on the ceilings and walls of which still magnificent in their ruin and decay, were to be seen *bas-reliefs*, representing, among other subjects, the amputations of limbs, and various instruments resembling those in modern use, attesting the cultivation of surgery to some considerable degree of perfection. After these engagements, many of the wounded were attacked with tetanus, in consequence of which, after a careful study of the facts, he prepared a memoir on that subject, and which received a complimentary notice from the institute of France, to which it was addressed.

On the 22d of December, Larrey receives orders to follow Bonaparte to Suez; they traverse a plain of three days' journey; but a single tree appeared in all this distance; the desert presenting the most melancholy scene of desolation, being marked in its whole extent with the bones of man and beast, bleaching in the scorching rays of the sun. During the night the cold was so severe that, to avoid fatal effects, they collected these remains into large heaps, and set them on fire, to obtain the necessary degree of warmth. At Suez he established a hospital, containing fifty beds; after which he crossed the Red Sea, at the point where popular tradition fixes the passage of the Israelites, when pursued by the hosts of Pharaoh, and where the army of the latter met with so signal a destruction. Shortly after his return from Suez, the campaign of Syria is concluded upon, and every preparation made for its contingencies. The surface of the country being rugged and uneven, and their means of transportation exceedingly meagre, he resorts to a new mode of ambulance, by constructing panniers, which were placed across the backs of dromedaries.

On the 9th of February, 1799, the division to which he was



attached, set out on its march; but hearing of a battle at El Arich, by the advanced guard, he is permitted by the commander-in-chief to hasten to the scene of conflict; which he reached in three days, by crossing the desert mounted on the back of a dromedary. On the arrival of Bonaparte, the walls of this place were so reduced as to compel their surrender. At Suez, and at Cairo, he had witnessed what was unquestionably the plague of the east, and now, at El Arich, it again makes its appearance. That such should be the case is not a matter of surprise, when it is remembered that in clearing out this fort, after the surrender, a great number of Turks were found in its subterranean passages, covered with filth, and loathsome from disease; besides heaps of horses and men, lying together in indiscriminate confusion: a mass of sweltering decomposition. The lack of sustenance compelled the army under Kleber, to enter once more the deserts, where the Arab guides, proving treacherous, led them astray, now marching in one direction, and then again in another, until the soldiers became utterly discouraged and hopeless. Nor could they rise above this feeling of despair which had penetrated the ranks with a degree of pusillanimity, rendering them helpless as little children, until Bonaparte made his appearance in their midst, mounted on a dromedary: in a moment the spell was dissolved, their spirits rose as by magic, their confidence returned, and they marched forward without discomfiture, until they reached Syria. Such an incident furnishes a sublime tribute to the intellectual force of a single mind, imparting by its catalytic power, moral life and activity into a mass of brute matter.

The army appeared first before Gaza, and to which the gates were thrown open; thence they marched to Rumleh, and on the 3d of March (1799), laid seige to Jaffa, which on the 7th following, was carried by assault. The horrors which attended the sacking of this place were, perhaps, only equalled by that of Jerusalem, when taken by Titus. Larrey himself declares the terrible scenes which he was compelled to witness, were such as he had not the courage to relate. He dressed two



hundred and forty-two wounded Frenchmen after this engagement.

Eight days succeeding this event the army marched for St. Jean d' Acre, and on the 18th of the same month (March), encamped at the entrance of the plain leading to the city. The view from their position was one of no ordinary character. No other spot on the face of the earth, perhaps, could suggest so many historic events of equal interest. Here on the left stood Mount Carmel, rising to the height of 1200 feet, across which Vespasian once marched, and on which Tacitus records his having offered his sacrifice; and still centuries before, the scene of a bloody retribution, in the slaughter of the 400 prophets of a wicked king. There on the right towered up for 1800 feet, the cone of Tabor, the reputed site of the transfiguration, the undoubted rendezvous for the ancient hosts of Naphthali, under Barak and Deborah; and still to the right lay the ample plain of Esdraelon, famous for the terrible destruction of the army of Sisera before the avenging Hebrew. On the 20th of March, the French took their position before the strongly fortified city of Acre, and Larrey opened his hospitals at Chefamer, Mount Carmel, and Caiffa; and as there was a considerable diversity of opinion, in regard to the treatment of contagious fevers, among the different sections of the army by the surgeons, he finds time to draw up a circular, directing its management. During the progress of this siege, Kleber, whose position was designed to repel all attack from the mountains, was well nigh being overwhelmed by the hordes of Turks who swarmed in from the neighbouring regions. In the midst of the unequal combat, Bonaparte, in person, followed by his trusty troopers, came thundering upon the field; his charge was like an avalanche, carrying all before it, and scattering the Syrian tribes toward the passage of the Jordan, where Murat, from his military position, was able to attack, and almost annihilate their retreating forces. The wounded in this engagement, about one hundred, were dressed, and conveyed to the convent of Terra Santa, at Nazareth, about six miles distant, and where he next founded a hospital. In company with the



commander-in-chief, he visited Nazareth, and where, as he says, General Bonaparte was regarded as a second Messiah, and received by its inhabitants with the greatest enthusiasm. During the thirteen assaults of Acre, the French army had 2000 wounded; among them an unusual number of officers of high rank, such as Generals Beauharnais, Bon, Lannes, and Duroc. Here he had no rest, passing continually from one division to another; now at the ambulance, and now operating in the trenches, even under the enemy's fire, and when many of the surgeons were killed at his side. M. Arrighi, aid-de-camp to General Berthier, in one of the assaults received a wound from a ball, which severed the external carotid artery near its origin from the parent trunk; as he fell, the blood issued in a torrent from the wound; a cannonier, a man of more than ordinary information, witnessing the accident, immediately thrust his fingers into the wound, and staunched the flow, until Larrey went to his assistance, and amidst a perfect shower of bullets, applied a compress and bandage, before removing him from the field. This case, which is introduced to illustrate the moral courage, self-possession, and noble disinterestedness of the man, is interesting in another view, having recovered without the application of a ligature. Seventy amputations were performed; two of these were through the hip-joint, and six at the scapulo-humeral articulation, four of which recovered; and among the number trephined, were two in which the instrument was applied over the frontal sinuses. Two thousand of the wounded were taken to Egypt; eight hundred across the desert, and twelve hundred by sea.

The interest and devotion of both Larrey and Bonaparte in the safe conduct of these unfortunate men, is most favorably exemplified in the order of the commander-in-chief (suggested no doubt by the example of the surgeon), placing his own horse, and those of his suite, at the disposal of Larrey, and marching for several days on foot, over the burning sands of the desert. Before they took up their march, the wounds of the sick were invaded by maggots, from the developed ova of the Syrian fly, and perhaps also, as he shrewdly observes,



from the larvæ of such as found a habitus in the cotton with which they were obliged to dress. These he regarded in no unfriendly light, as they served to facilitate the separation of the sloughs. Among the other dangers to which he was exposed at Acre, was that of the plague, from which many perished, and among them, one of his assistant surgeons, who had aided him in making post-mortem examinations of their bodies. This terrible disease formed the subject of a memoir which he addressed, on the 28th of June, 1799, from Cairo to the board of health.

Their journey to Egypt from Acre, was one which he never forgot. Their sufferings from heat, thirst, and fatigue, were indescribable. Among their other calamities, they were called to encounter the fearful khamsyn of the desert. The air became heated to an intense degree; the sand-plains smoked like an oven; not a drop of perspiration broke forth from the skin; the respiration was effected by gasps; the thirst quenchless; the circulation unbalanced. The inhabitant of the desert fled to his tent, or sought some subterranean depth; the surprised traveller and camel cast themselves prone upon the earth, and buried their faces in the sand. Many fell victims, and Larrey himself sank down in a fit of fainting, never expecting to rise again. Escaping at length the horrors of the desert, they slaked their thirst in some muddy water at Saleyeh, where they encounter another enemy, in swallowing, unsuspectingly, a species of leech, which from a slender filament, finally grew to the magnitude of the ordinary animal: these produced diarrhœa, hemorrhages, and troublesome coughs; some indeed dying from their effects.

From Cairo Larrey next repairs to the Pyramids, where there was established a camp of observation. He explored the recesses and labyrinths of these ancient and stupendous monuments of labor and power, climbed to the summit of the highest, and recorded his name on its cap-stone.

The descent of twenty thousand Turks upon the peninsula of Aboukir, again compelled him to follow his commander across the Lybian deserts, toward Alexandria. At this place



he established two large hospitals, ordering them to be well provided with dressings, and such other articles as were needful for the sick and wounded; then rejoining the army, was present on the 25th of July, when the attack was made on the redoubts of the Turks at Aboukir. Never was a more desperate struggle maintained. For a time the fortunes of the day seemed to tremble, undecided and uncertain, until at last, when the crisis became extreme, Bonaparte appeared among his legions, like a modern Brennus, to cast his sword on the side of victory: his simple presence transfused every soldier with superhuman courage; when the entrenchments were crossed, and the redoubts carried. Then followed a terrible retribution for the forty Frenchmen who had been murdered by the Turks when this fort had been seized. Few, indeed, escaped; even those who were able to escape from the scene of conflict, were followed by Murat, and either put to the sword, or driven into the sea to be drowned. Over ten thousand were slain on the field. The French had eight hundred wounded; and among them, Generals Lannes, Murat, and Fugieres. Forty amputations were performed immediately after the engagement. Fugieres, a man high in the estimation of the commander-in-chief, received a terrible wound of the arm; faint and prostrate, he sank upon the field; in a short time, he was reached by Larrey, who promptly extirpated the limb at the shoulder-joint. By extraordinary care and attention, he completely recovered. As an evidence of the manner in which his professional attentions were regarded, Bonaparte presented to Larrey the costly sword of this distinguished general, and which, by his order, had engraved on it the brief but significant inscription, "Aboukir et Larrey." This valuable present, which he regarded with feelings of more than ordinary attachment, was lost at the battle of Waterloo, and never returned to him by the Russian Government.

After this decisive battle he returned to Cairo, and re-established the school of anatomy and surgery; and Bonaparte embarked for France on the 22d of August, where he was



made consul, leaving General Kleber in command of the army of the east.

Terms of peace having been ratified, the French force was about to evacuate Egypt, when an announcement was made through Admiral Keith, that they could not be allowed to pass except as prisoners of war. This led to the reoccupation of the defences of Cairo, the battle on the ruins of Heliopolis, and the affair at Coraim. In this last engagement the escape of Larrey was almost miraculous. While engaged in attending to the wounded, in a position where the day was most warmly contested, his servant, at his side, had his head severed completely from his body, and twenty artillerymen lay immediately around. The next day he recognized these heads exposed in the camp of the Grand Vizier at Salehyeh.

On their return to Cairo, after these victorious actions, they found the force which had been left to defend the town, had been overpowered, and the city held by 50,000 hostile Turks. A siege was commenced, which resulted eventually in the Mamelukes asking terms of capitulation; after which they were allowed to return to Syria, with the honors of war.

During these events, a disease made its appearance not unlike yellow fever, and on which he drew up a very interesting paper. Other valuable articles were likewise prepared on hepatic abscess, atrophy of the testes, elephantiasis and leprosy, all of which he had frequent opportunities to observe and investigate by numerous dissections.

It was shortly after this, that a sad event occurred to the army. A young Turk, from the camp of the Grand Vizier, guided by a spirit of fanaticism, formed a vow to assassinate Kleber, the Commander-in-chief, and which he accomplished in an unsuspecting moment, by plunging a poniard into the heart of the unfortunate man. This was on June the 14th, 1800, and it is a remarkable coincidence that on the same day, and the same hour, his companion in arms, and friend, General Desaix, was killed in the battle of Marengo. This was the same whom Larrey accompanied after the campaign of the Rhine, in a tour of inspection, passing over the fields



which had been fought and won by General Bonaparte, and whose death, having honored him in his life with marked friendship, made a deep and lasting impression on his mind. The infatuated criminal was executed by fire and stake, the punishment prescribed for such crimes. His right hand was first burned to the bones, and then the stake driven through his abdomen, tearing and lacerating the viscera and nerves, fracturing the sacrum, and entering the spinal canal, and yet not a groan escaped his lips: a thing which, considering he survived for four hours, must, as Larrey himself remarked, astonish any man of ordinary feeling.

The next service of Larrey was to make a thorough inspection of the hospitals at Alexandria, Rosetta and Damietta, returning again to Cairo.

General Menon, after the murder of Kleber, assumed the chief command. He was a man of decided ability, combining a sound judgment with excellent administrative powers. His improvements in the reformatory direction were of great value, among which may be mentioned the establishment of a privy council, to which the chief physician and surgeon were admitted.

At this period, when their departure appeared to be uncertain, the instructions on surgery and anatomy were renewed, and ever casting about for some field in which to exercise the benevolent tendencies of his professional nature, Larrey established a hospital for the reception and treatment of the diseases of native prostitutes, and which was exceedingly desirable for two objects. First, no treatment is employed by the inhabitants of Egypt for this disease, under the idea that all such attempts are wrong as well as powerless; and second, to prevent abortions, which they constantly practice, destroying often their own lives, as well as those of their offspring. The peace which the army now enjoyed enabled him, in addition to preparing an article on sarsocèle, to arrange into form the surgical observations of the Egyptian and Syrian campaigns, in which there are much learning, labor and sound judgment displayed. The enlarged testicle, so common in Egypt,



among other causes, he believed in a measure due to the loose habit worn by the Turk, giving no support to the glands; a hint of this kind might have some weight in abolishing the unsoldierly-looking petticoats of the now popular Zouave dress. Fractures in Syria were generally followed by false joints, which he attributed to the disturbance of the fragments consequent on moving the men from Syria to Egypt, miasmatic state of the air, and bad quality of their food and drink; a very sound explanation, as every surgeon will admit. He condemns in very unqualified terms, however, both the English and American methods for treating such accidents by resection and the seton. Wounds of a very simple nature about the shoulder, he states, were followed very often by paralysis; the north winds conduced in a very marked manner to healing; he trephined over the frontal sinuses, contrary to authority at that day, and used for this purpose two trephines of unequal diameters, as all works on operative surgery at present advise. He had occasion, likewise, to apply this instrument over the great meningeal artery, arresting the blood by a red-hot stylet, a practice which he borrowed from his uncle and old preceptor at Toulouse. A singular case is mentioned in these observations, of a soldier who received a ball below the angle of the jaw, entering the floor of the mouth, splitting the tongue, and cutting off the epiglottis cartilage, which he spit out. As he could not swallow without strangulation, this laryngeal sentinel being destroyed, he had to be sustained by fluids conveyed into the stomach through an œsophageal tube. This instrument would occasionally, when being introduced, slip into the air passage, without producing the least uneasiness, yet a single drop of any liquid taking the same route, would excite violent paroxysms of strangling and cough. The practice of Dr. Green would seem to confirm these phenomena. Murat received a most extraordinary wound; a ball entered at the angle of the right jaw, passed through the neck, and emerged at the mastoid process of the left temporal bone; no important vessel or nerve appears to have been injured, and he made a good recovery. A



parallel case occurred at the recent battle of Bull's Run. Wounds penetrating the chest and lungs he discovered to be best treated by immediately closing them up, though the ancients did the same; yet, from Ambrose Pare to the time of Larrey, surgeons advised such to be dressed by being kept open. Modern surgery will sustain Larrey in the correctness of his practice. Wounds of the bladder generally recovered well by keeping the organ constantly drained with the catheter; the head of the humerus was removed ten times, all except three recovering, and of these two died from scurvy. The sigmoid curve of the colon was in many instances wounded, and healed without the accident of an artificial anus. Nineteen amputations at the scapulo-numeral articulation were performed, and thirteen recovered. All lacerated and shattered limbs were followed by excessive pain, twitchings, and spasms, accompanied by distressing and uncontrollable cries, inducing fatal consequences unless immediately cut away, and all ragged portions removed, which afforded immediate relief. It is very natural to suppose, that in a land teeming with historic associations; a land with which the complex problems of race and learning are connected, should draw such a mind as Larrey's into other than a professional channel. Hence we find him studying diligently its geography and its inhabitants, establishing in regard to the latter, by very plausible facts, what is much more certainly known at the present, that the Copts, or ancient Egyptians, are not to be confounded with the negroes of Africa, according to the assertions of Mr. Volney. He furnishes a description of the far-famed Turkish baths, and believes they contribute to longevity, adducing in support of such an opinion the fact of there being thirty-five persons in Cairo over one hundred years of age. For a male to enter these baths during the period allotted to the women, is death; yet, he tells us, through a matron of Cairo, both a proprietress of a bath and doctress, he gained access, and through a private opening from her room, witnessed everything which transpired, and most of which he very modestly declines to inform



the reader. We learn, also, from him, that the mechanical arrangements for hatching eggs is of ancient origin, being extensively carried on in Egypt time out of mind. The kilns, of which, he says, there are about three hundred of large size, can hatch 2,500 chickens each. Hydrophobia was not known among the dogs of Egypt, though the camel is subject to a species of madness during the rutting season, making this animal, at other times so docile and patient, vicious and unmanageable. The evidence of an advanced surgery and medicine could be deciphered amidst the monumental ruins sufficiently clear to countenance the traditionary reputation of the schools of Alexandria during the days of Hierophilus and Erisistratus. Inoculation was known at the source of the Nile. It was about this time that vaccination was presented to the public notice of the profession by Jenner, but was not then known to Larrey. Their practice of midwifery was meddling, and altogether destitute of skill, and in order to effect its reform, he gave lectures on this subject to those women who followed the art in Egypt. The operation for stone in the bladder, amputation and hernia, were unknown to the native practitioners.

In the midst of these agreeable and peaceful inquiries, a courier brought intelligence that 20,000 English had landed at Aboukir. On the 12th of March, 1801, the Commander-in-chief took up his march, crossing the fertile province of Bahireh, and making his headquarters at Alexandria on the 19th. Larrey assiduously set about, night and day, arranging the ambulance service, and on the 21st, at 4 o'clock in the morning, they commenced the attack; success was on the eve of crowning the French arms, when General Roize was killed, and the tide of battle turned. This disaster threw into their hospitals nineteen hundred wounded, filling them to their utmost capacities. Almost every General, and very many subordinate officers received injuries during its progress. For ten days succeeding its occurrence, Larrey was unremittingly engaged in dressing the injured men, scarcely allowing him-



self time to satisfy the calls of hunger, and refusing the repose of which he stood so much in need. The English, in order to surround the French, pursued their advantage, and marched direct for Cairo, where Belliard remained. They were joined by the Osmalins, the Sepoys and the Arabs, and after investing the place, finally compelled a capitulation. The division to which Larrey was attached, entrenched themselves behind the ruins of ancient Alexandria, determined to protect the peninsula. Notwithstanding the severe nature of the wounds received in the battle of the 21st of March, on the 20th of the succeeding May, only two months, he reported 1000 discharged from the hospitals, and returned to their companies, 600 rapidly recovering, one-half of which were able to perform sedentary work, the remainder enrolled on the list of invalids. In June, a sudden change in the wind, and an overflowing of a lake, created a severe ophthalmia, affecting 3000 men, and which was succeeded by an extensive prevalence of scurvy, prostrating 1500 others, thus taxing the medical officers to the utmost degree. In consequence of the completeness of the blockade their provisions became exhausted, and at Larrey's suggestion, the horses belonging to the cavalry were killed in order to furnish the sick with the necessary supplies. Out of the 3500 scorbutics admitted in their hospitals at Alexandria, 262 died. On the 17th of August, 1801, though greatly inferior in numbers, they engaged the English in their whole line, and gained a signal advantage, still their hospitals being filled with the sick and wounded, and provisions exhausted, they were compelled to ask a capitulation, by the terms of which they were to leave Egypt with all the honors of war. On the 17th of October, 1801, Larrey embarked with the Commander-in-chief, arriving at Toulon on the 20th of November, from which place, while they were lying at quarantine, he made his report to the Minister of War. The response which this report drew forth, will be the best evidence I can offer to show in what manner the government regarded his services in this campaign of three years.



"PARIS, *December 24th, 1801.*

"SIR: The commander-in-chief has made the Government acquainted with the unbounded devotion, and great success, that you and your colleagues have displayed in the preservation of this most valuable army. The Government that fondly watches over its welfare, has thus witnessed, through the medium of your attention, the accomplishment of one of its dearest wishes, the security of a part of the French armies, from the dangers to which they were exposed in a new and untried climate. While it applauds your useful and glorious labors, it invites you to persevere in them, that you may increase the obligations which are due you from the army that you have preserved, and from a Government that is so deeply interested in its security.

"I salute you.

"AL. BERTHIER."

"*January 8th, 1801.*

"SIR: You have rendered such important services to the wounded soldiers of the army of the east, as to merit the particular attention of the First Consul. He is satisfied with your zeal, and with the greatest pleasure, I hasten, in conformity to his orders, to inform you of it.

"AL. BERTHIER."

"*January 28th, 1801.*

"SIR: The Government has neglected no opportunity of making known to the French nation, the services that you have rendered the army of Egypt. Your name will be henceforth associated with those of the benefactors of their country. Your lady, who is in good health, has just received 1500 francs, as a testimonial of national gratitude.

"I feel, Sir, the most lively sensation in having been able to do justice to your merit, in the account of the expedition to Egypt, which has been published by me. I have there stated what has been often seen; that you 'at the head of your brave associates, dressed the wounded under the fire of the enemy, and even in the entrance of the breaches.' I have promised to support your claims to the gratitude of the nation. I shall with punctuality, fulfill this promise.

"AL. BERTHIER."

When the quarantine was over, Larrey went to Marseilles, where the different divisions of the army all met. Many were the expressions of gratitude which he received from the soldiers and others connected with the army, and which, to use



his own words, he regarded as the happiest moments of his life; the most grateful recompense for his services. He would never forget them.

His duties now as surgeon-general to the army of the east, were terminated, and he set out for Paris, where he was presented to his old commander-in-chief, now the First Consul of the French nation, and who received him with marks of affection and kindness, and by whose orders he was appointed chief surgeon to the consular guards, his commission bearing date of March 22d, 1802.

It was after this that he published his work entitled the "Surgical Account of the Army of the East," and dedicated to Bonaparte. At the request of many pupils, he next commenced a public course of lectures on military surgery; and having, in accordance with a law of the medical school, defended a thesis on amputation (1803), was honored by receiving the title of "doctor of surgery," the first on whom this distinction had been conferred.

In the course of those political emergencies before which all things bend, the Consul is merged in the Emperor, under the title of Napoleon the First. With great and imposing ceremonies this event was celebrated by the Pope, who came from Rome to place upon it his august sanction (1804).

#### CAMPAIGNS AT BOULOGNE, ULM, AND AUSTERLITZ.

Soon after this important event of December the 2d, 1804, in order to punish the violation of the treaty of Amiens, the Emperor prepared to invade England; and Larrey departs for Boulogne, where the Imperial headquarters were established. When in the very act of setting out, an unexpected coalition was formed, by which Austria threatened France, thus changing entirely the aspect of affairs. With that marvellous adaptation to unexpected contingencies, so remarkable a feature in the character of Napoleon, his troops were at once landed, marched through France, and crossing the Rhine, were in



Germany, before the enemy had anticipated their presence. Larrey repaired to Strasburg, and organized his ambulance for the Imperial Guard; and by the 10th of September, 1805, the whole army was advancing toward the Danube; in the passage of which, being hotly contested, many were wounded on both sides, all of whom were dressed by the surgical staff of the French. At Ulm, the Austrian army, 30,000 strong, was driven into the town, having their retreat cut off by the rapid manoeuvres of the advanced guard; and very soon, to avoid the destructive artillery, which was planted on the heights overlooking the city, was forced to surrender, and lay down their arms as prisoners of war. The headquarters returning to Augsburg, Larrey there opened commodious hospitals, and then moved forward to Vienna; a division of the Austrian army having retreated to Moravia, to join the Russians. On the 26th of November, 1805, the Emperor moved from Vienna, to give them battle. On arriving at Holobrun, they found the advanced guard had already engaged them in a severe conflict, and the field was literally covered with the slain, the wounded, and the equipage of the Russians. Most of the wounded had not been dressed, and to effect this, Larrey halted his ambulance. The Russians continued to retreat until they reached the heights of Virchow. Everything portended the approach of a great battle. In consequence of the absence of Mr. Percy, Larrey was obliged to superintend the medical, as well as the arrangements of the surgical staff. On the evening of the 1st of December, the army was drawn up, and Napoleon, mounted on his horse, rode along the line in review; at his presence a cry of joy and wild enthusiasm welled up from 45,000 mailed warriors; and then, without preconcert, yet as if moved by a common impulse, each man seized little bundles of straw which lay strewn around the camp, and setting on fire, waved them aloft, forming a novel and most impressive illumination. On the following morning and day, the battle of the three Emperors was fought, the bloody field of Austerlitz won, in which almost 12,000 of the Austro-Russian army were killed, and 30,000 taken prisoners. The wounded



were dressed on the field of battle, and conveyed to the central ambulance. Alexander and Francis II. solicited an interview with Napoleon, the result of which was the treaty of peace signed at Presburg. It was shortly after this that a most malignant form of fever broke out in the hospitals at Brum, extending finally along the entire line into France, and proving particularly fatal to those having wounds under treatment. The Charity hospital, containing the wounded of the guards, being less crowded and better ventilated, had comparatively few deaths. After the campaign of Austerlitz, Larrey returned to Paris; and while there, which was not long, he prepared his memoir on aneurism, and which in many respects corresponded so closely with the observations of Scarpa, as to induce a disclaimer of having borrowed anything from this distinguished anatomist, inasmuch as his materials had all been collected before the work of the latter appeared. The disease is viewed as constitutional, the effect of a diathesis; and the use of internal remedies of an alterative character, pressed with considerable confidence. Following this paper, he publishes another, on the "*spontaneous causes of active arterial hemorrhage.*" In the treatment of this subject, he demurs from the prevalent idea of the bleeding from a wounded vessel being arrested by the formation of a clot, and describes the process as one effected by adhesive inflammation; and which he declares in good constitutions, occurs in from twelve to twenty-four hours; in evidence of which it is stated, that although the ligatures were very frequently torn away, even from vessels of considerable magnitude, in shifting patients from ambulances, the return of hemorrhage was scarcely ever witnessed; and for which reason, in cases of good, vigorous constitutions, he never made but a single knot on the ligature. The effect of cold in arresting hemorrhage was well exemplified after the battle of Eylau, when the mercury was  $15^{\circ}$  below zero, and where it was only necessary to tie the main trunks of the arteries; and although the injured were transported beyond the Vistula, not a single case was lost from secondary bleeding. The examples of consecutive hemorrhage occurred among



those affected with adynamic fevers and scorbutic disease, both of which prevented the inflammatory process necessary to close up the vessels involved. The subjects of two other interesting memoirs from his pen, were the "*Effects of Rheumatism on the Fibrous and Osseous Systems*," and "*Cerebral Epilepsy*, with the means of distinguishing the true from the feigned."

#### CAMPAIGNS IN SAXONY AND PRUSSIA.

Notwithstanding the decisive battle of Austerlitz, a coalition was formed between Prussia and Saxony to invade France. The French army had not yet left Germany, and Napoleon concluded he would save this new alliance the trouble of coming to France, by marching at once to meet them at Jena; where the armies engaged on the 14th of October, 1806. The French were victorious, and although there was a great number wounded, requiring numerous and important operations, the success was in most instances complete, the ambulances delivering them promptly to the attending surgeons. The result of the engagement at Jena induced Saxony to abandon the coalition, and sue for peace. In pursuit of the retreating fragments, the army reaches Potsdam. Here Larrey visits the Lutheran church in which are the tombs of Frederick the Great and his father, and speaks of the emotion which he experienced in beholding the arm-chair in which the former expired, and the apartment once occupied by Voltaire. The allusion to the latter is founded, I suppose, upon an incident which is no less amusing than it is characteristic of the parties concerned. Voltaire was sent by the Duchess of Chateauroux to Berlin, to confer with Frederick, king of Prussia, hoping that the well-known address and cunning of the former, might prove more effective in committing, or winning the latter to make certain concessions, than a regular constituted diplomatist, armed with the authority of his government. Frederick was one of the most subtle, penetrating, as well as practical



men of his age. Voltaire talked of treaties and guaranties; the king of poetry and metaphors: when together, the utmost deference and formality of intercourse was observed; when separate, each laughed at the other. At Charlottenburg the Emperor remained for a few days to unite the different divisions of the army, which had been pursuing the detached bodies of the enemy, and who, although making many obstinate stands, were at length driven beyond the Oder. On the 27th of October, the magistrates of Berlin presented to the Emperor the keys of this city, and marched before him to the king's palace. "This," says Larrey, "was undoubtedly one of the most glorious days Napoleon ever enjoyed."

At Berlin, Larrey visited its monuments, its extensive anatomical museum, its collections of plants and animals, most of which had been brought from America by the Humboldts; and who, among other distinguished professors and literati, bestowed upon him the most marked attention. The hospital duty while in this place, was not at all laborious, as the health of the army proved unusually good. When the winter set in, in order to protect themselves against the severe cold, the soldiers used stoves, and closing the doors of their lodgings, a number perished from asphyxia, in consequence of the gas eliminated from the coal.

#### CAMPAIGN IN POLAND.

The capital of Poland being threatened by the Russians, and a coalition formed between Alexander and the king of Prussia, precipitated a new campaign. The Oder was crossed, Prussian Poland entered, and possession taken of Warsaw, the last of November, by the advanced guard. Larrey reached Posen, at which place he joined the Emperor, whom the inhabitants had received with great manifestations of joy. At this place, and subsequently at Warsaw, he had an opportunity of studying the singular affection of the hair, called *Plica Polonica*; and also the endemic diseases of Poland, and



which afterwards formed the basis of a memoir submitted to the Institute of France. The offensive attitude of the enemy obliged Napoleon to move the 1st of February, across the Vistula, a task of no common kind, difficult in consequence of the extreme cold, and the destruction of the bridges by the ice. At Hoff, the grand duke of Berg, with his cavalry, had beaten the Russians with considerable slaughter; the wounded being dressed on the field, and sent to Lebstat, the nearest hospitals to the scene of conflict. The enemy having fallen back on Eylau; a place of great strength from its redoubts and heavy batteries, a most bloody battle ensued, which continued from 11 o'clock in the morning until dark; and which was resumed the next morning, victory remaining for a long time doubtful, until a desperate but well-planned charge of the imperial cavalry, gained the day for the French arms. Larrey was the only inspector present; never had he witnessed so severe a battle, and never, perhaps, was called upon to perform so painful and arduous an amount of labor. Many of the injured were collected and sent to the village of Eylau. Others were gathered into some barns, where he had placed his ambulances. All day and night long, regardless of hunger, he plied his incessant hand, tears of sympathy streaming from his eyes. The cold had greatly increased, insomuch that the instruments which were held by his assistants, would fall from their benumbed fingers: when operating on one, the most heart-rending cries would come up on all sides, that theirs might be the next in turn. An unexpected attack of the enemy on that wing of the army where the ambulance was stationed, produced the utmost consternation and panic; the wounded who were able fled in confusion, and despair seized upon those who were helpless; hastening to finish the amputation of a limb on which he was engaged, Larrey quieted their apprehensions, and endeavored to allay the excitement, by declaring his determination never to desert his post, but to die rather than abandon those under his charge. The charge of the cavalry of the guard repulsed the Russians, and removed all cause of danger. The country being covered with snow,



and robbed of all means of subsistence, the wounded were sent to Inowraklow, in the ambulances, through deep snow and miry roads, a distance of fifty-five leagues. Experience had proved that the dangers from exposure and fatigue are less to be apprehended than from the adynamic forms of disease incident to crowding together large numbers of the sick and wounded. The recollection of their experience in Egypt fully established both the wisdom and humanity of this course. The siege of Acre would never be forgotten. They were forced to the alternative of leaving their wounded on the shore, without shelter or food, to be cut off by the Arabs, or to cross a desert of eighty leagues in extent, on miserable beasts of burden, or on foot. They chose the last, and although most were severely wounded, many having undergone amputation, yet the loss was less than a fifteenth.

After the battle of Eylau, her Majesty conferred on Larrey, the "*Cross of the Commandant of the Legion of Honor*;" and the Imperial Guard, to which he was attached, went into their winter cantonments at Osterode (1808). The troops suffered much from the effects of cold, and which was made the subject of another valuable memoir, entitled "*Gangrene from Congelation*," distinguished for the faithful detail of the phenomena and correct views of treatment.

The succeeding spring, when negotiations were in progress looking toward a general peace, the Russians again attacked the advanced guard. The Emperor advanced to Heilsberg, where the enemy had fortified themselves, and attacked them on the evening of the 10th of June, without, however, his usual success. Larrey passed the entire night and the following day with the wounded. The injuries were of so severe a character as to necessitate no fewer than forty amputations. The Russians, finding themselves in danger of being surrounded, retreated to Friedland, where they were followed, and in the general engagement which there took place, completely defeated; leaving 6000 of the army dead on the field. The wounded in this affair were dressed by Mr. Percy, Larrey having, in company with the Imperial Guard, followed the re-



treating columns to the river Tilsit, where they sued for peace. The circumstances attending the meeting of Napoleon, Alexander, and the king of Prussia, is represented as being of a very imposing nature: it took place in the middle of the river, where a pontoon, on which was constructed a chamber of glass, was moored; and on either bank the opposing armies were drawn up in order of battle.

The resulting peace enabled the subject of our sketch to return to Paris, in doing which, he stopped, among other places, at Leipsic, where he visited the amphitheatre in which the immortal Leibnitz delivered his lectures; and at Jena, where he was received by its professors with distinguished attentions; and on whom they conferred the degree of "*Doctor of Physic.*"

On his arrival at Paris, he resumed his duties at the hospital of the guard, and received from the Emperor, who was at Milan being crowned king of Italy; the honorary title of "*Knight of the Iron Crown,*" January, 1808.

#### FIRST CAMPAIGN IN SPAIN.

His stay in Paris was very short, having received an order to follow the Imperial Guard, under Prince Joachim, intended for Spain. On the 11th of February, 1808, he set out, taking in his route Toulouse (the place of his nativity), where, on the invitation of the professors and students, he made an anatomical and physiological demonstration of the encephalon, on the principles of the German phrenologist, Gall. A few days afterwards the honorable title of "*corresponding associate*" was conferred on him by the Academy of Sciences. On his way forward to Bayonne he does not fail to visit the mineral springs and baths of Bagneres, and the valley of Campaign, which the work of Raymond has so beautifully described. At Tarbes he is received in a complimentary manner by the members of the Electoral College, and at Pau visited the castle where was born Henry IV., reaching Bayonne on the 5th of



March, and assuming the Inspector-Generalship of the medical staff of the army; the hospitals of which he visited from that place to Madrid. At this place he established a school of medicine and military surgery. Little, indeed, escaped his notice, from the inhuman bull fights which he witnessed at Burgos, to the famous mammoth, whose skeleton he sketched, and transmitted to Cuvier. At the revolt in Madrid he rode boldly through the midst of the insurgents, though many muskets were discharged at his person, in order to reach and fortify the hospitals against violation. While at Madrid a peculiar gangrene made its appearance in the hospital, among those more especially, who occupied the ground floor; and in which amputation proved successful, without waiting for the line of demarcation. The next subjects of his investigations were a form of cholic, endemic to this place; the topography of the Spanish peninsula; and the narcotics employed in Spanish wines, from the use of which many died. After the retreat which followed the surrender of Dupont's division, he occupied his leisure moments at Briviesca, in putting in form his observations on the climate and soil of the two Castilles, or Spain proper.

#### SECOND CAMPAIGN IN SPAIN.

The second campaign in Spain commenced with the bloody battle near Burgos, to which place the wounded were sent after being dressed; and another at Benevento, of almost equal severity. After thoroughly organizing the hospitals at Valladolid, he resigned his place as Inspector-General to Mr. Percy, the Imperial Guard having been ordered to return to France. Overcome by excessive fatigue of body, and anxiety of mind, he contracted the hospital fever from the English prisoners, and, very indiscreetly, three days after, with the disease well developed, set out for Burgos, in order to rejoin the Guard. On the route he was attacked with delirium, and almost paid the forfeiture of his life for his temerity. After convalescence set in, he pursued his journey to Paris.



## CAMPAIGN OF AUSTRIA.

On the 22d of April, 1809, before having fully recovered, he set out to join the Imperial Guard at Bavaria, to arrange for the Austrian campaign. On his way thither, he tarried for a little time at Munich, long enough to visit Dr. Soemmering, and re-examine his valuable museum on pathological anatomy. A few days after the battle of Eberberg, he reached the Guard just before entering Vienna, being received by the Emperor with unfeigned kindness, and ordered to prepare his ambulances. After a short bombardment the city surrendered, and the army entered the gates. After the reconstruction of the bridges over the Danube, which the enemy had destroyed, the battle of Elchingen was fought, and which was by no means satisfactory to the French, although a more terrible or bravely contested conflict had never been sustained by the infantry of the Guard, on whom, in consequence of an accident to the bridges, the burden of the struggle fell. The men were carried from the field as fast as they fell, and while the battle raged, Larrey pursued, with the utmost degree of composure, the operations at his ambulance, which he stationed on the bank of the Danube. It was while returning from this battle that a stray ball struck the Marshal, Duke of Montebello, crushing and comminuting his knee and thigh in the most terrible manner. Larrey repaired at once to his relief, and had him brought to his ambulance, pale, pulseless, and mind disordered. To this distinguished personage Larrey was greatly attached. While in Egypt and Syria he had attended to his wounds, and had been honored by his friendship. Although little hope of his recovery could be entertained, amputation alone could give him the benefit of that hope. For a time, Larrey was so overcome with feelings of anxiety and affection for the distinguished sufferer, as to be unequal to the operation. He called upon his associates to make at once the section of the limb, but between the presence of such a man, and the responsibilities of his life, all seemed for the time stu-



pefied with a panic; until recovering after a short time his composure, Larrey seized the knife, and as if to amend for the few moments of indecision, in less than two minutes swept off the mangled extremity: The next act of kindness which he was called upon to perform for the Duke of Montebello, was to embalm his body and send it home to France. The bridges having given way, their communications with Vienna were distressingly embarrassed, so that large numbers of wounded, collected into groups on the banks of the river, were exposed to the rays of the sun, severe blasts of wind, and clouds of dust. Cut off in a great measure from their provisions, he again resorted to horseflesh broth for his sick; and as they were entirely without salt, it was seasoned with gunpowder. Preparations being made to attack the enemy in his entrenched lines on the left bank of the Danube, on the first of July the various divisions commenced to move to their different appointments at the same time, and the battle was commenced. At this moment the heavens, as if in sympathy with the deadly strife, became overcast with a dark pall of clouds, and the darkness became so confirmed, that although the continuous roar of artillery told of the slaughter which was going forward, neither of the armies could be discovered, save when the lightning illuminated for an instant the scene of strife. With unremitting success, the flying ambulance followed all the movements of the Guards until the victory was gained, and before evening had collected 500 wounded men. This was the famous battle of Wagram, and which led to the peace concluded shortly after at Vienna. In the interval pending negotiations he gave a course of theoretic and clinical surgery, for which purpose he had at Vienna an amphitheatre erected, and rooms for dissections constructed, to which were admitted both the surgeons of the army and Vienna. After he delivered his report containing the operations of this campaign, the Emperor conferred on him the title of "*Baron*," with an annual sum of 5000 francs. When Vienna was evacuated, Larrey transported all the sick and wounded to Paris, where he arrived and resumed, on the 1st of January, 1810, his old duties at the



hospital of the Guards. The contributions to surgery which followed this campaign are exceedingly interesting, but which the length of this sketch will not admit of being introduced. Among these may be mentioned Hydrocele, with his new method of treatment, by introducing through the canula after the removal of the fluid, a gum elastic tube; tumors of the scrotum, diseases of the rectum, abdominal wounds, &c.

#### CAMPAIGN IN RUSSIA.

For twenty years Larrey had been engaged in the duties of a military surgeon. After his return from the Austrian campaign, he arranged and published three volumes of surgical memoirs, a contribution which has been of great benefit to those who have succeeded him in this department of professional life. This task had been just completed, when he received an order to repair to Mentz as Surgeon-in-chief to the grand army. On the 24th of February, 1812, he left Paris, and reached Mentz on the 1st of the succeeding month. Most of the troops had crossed the Rhine, and were on their way toward Russia. By orders, he goes to Berlin; at which place he had all the surgeons of the army collected together in order to ascertain their merits, and assign each to his place in the *ambulances*. He instructed them in surgery and anatomy, requiring them to operate on the cadaver in his presence, in order to acquire the skill and dexterity so necessary to their position. While here, he received the kind attentions of Graefe, Wibel and Rudolphi; and examined with great interest the magnificent vascular preparations of its Museum, which were equal in their minuteness to those of Prochaska and Soemmering. On the 10th of May he reached Posen, and it was only here that the magnitude of the military preparations were properly comprehended. On the banks of the Vistula the army amounted to 400,000; men of various nations; French and Spaniards, Saxons and Bavarians, Prussians and Italians; managed by veterans long educated in the school of



war, and all under the direction of one master mind, whose commanding power none would gainsay. A grand council was held of all the departments. Larrey was a member of that presiding over the hospitals. Having gathered the necessary information from all these sources, the Commander-in-chief was prepared to regulate the details of the campaign, and which was done with great rapidity. From Kowno to Wilna the army suffered very much in consequence of exposure and bad weather, but more particularly, what many an army since has, bad liquor. The schnapps which was extensively manufactured, was a spirit distilled from corn, and to which was added plants of a narcotic class. The phenomena resulting from its use were, loss of muscular power, vertigo and weeping: many would drop down on the road sides, or in the ditches, and frequently died in such situations. In the operations which he was called upon to execute in consequence of the few minor engagements which occurred antecedent to the battle at Witepsk, there is to be discerned a remarkable exhibition of conservatism in the removal of portions of the feet, and the management of several lacerated injuries of the nose, lips and jaws. At Witepsk he establishes hospitals which were soon well filled with French and Russians; the latter having retreated, leaving their wounded to be cared for by the victors. Forty-five amputations were done here, and when performed within twenty-four hours succeeded well. It was here, also, where he had occasion to extract a ball from the bladder, by the lateral section of the perineum, as practiced for stone. The next scene which he is called to witness is the storming of Smolensk, in which language fails to convey a faithful picture of the appearance succeeding this conflict of twenty-four hours duration. The number of the Russians lay in heaps beyond computation, in the ditches, ravines, and on the banks of the river. Six thousand Frenchmen were wounded, and received prompt attention on the field. Being deficient in dressings, they were driven to the necessity of using parchment, paper, tow, and the down of the birch tree, instead of the ordinary materials. His services were given alike to the Russians and



the French, and when the bustle and confusion succeeding the first few days were over, the hospitals of Smolensk were found to have 10,000 inmates. On entering the vast plains of Russia, which opened out immediately after crossing the Dnieper at Dorogobouje, he was seized with all the symptoms of seasickness, which compelled him to assume the recumbent posture. This singular attack he was disposed to refer to the impressions resulting from the eye looking over an almost unbounded horizon, and the wave-like movements of so large a body of men in motion. The enemy in retiring had laid every thing waste ; cities and villages were found in flames, and all means taken to destroy whatever might conduce to the sustenance of a hostile army. On the heights of Mosaisk the Russians finally took a position, and on the 5th and 6th of September, a battle which has few parallels in history was fought, in which 600,000 combatants were engaged, and where the French lost in killed and wounded forty generals, and had over 12,000 from the ranks thrown into the hospitals. That of the enemy amounted to over 20,000. This battle being rather unexpected, found the ambulance provisions in some degree inadequate to the emergencies of the occasion. Larrey, in passing to the relief of General Montburn, who was mortally wounded, was exposed to great risk ; several horses, in close proximity to where he applied the dressing, being killed by passing balls. For two nights and a day he continued operating at the general ambulance, no fewer than two hundred amputations being performed in the first twenty-four hours. On the 14th of September the headquarters entered Moscow ; it was in the evening ; the noble part of the population had all departed ; the streets were all deserted, and to the utmost dismay of the Emperor, the vast city was discovered to be on fire. This conflagration had commenced in the palace of the Czars, and was the work of desperate convicts released from prison. When the French army evacuated Moscow, their rear was constantly harrassed by the Cossacks ; their progress was greatly embarrassed by severe snow storms ; their horses perished daily in numbers from cold and exhaustion ; the thermometer



fell to  $19^{\circ}$  below zero; soldiers dropped down in a fatal sleep, or approaching the bivouac fires, fell dead, or were attacked with gangrene. Larrey, well aware of the danger of rest, saved his life only by a resolute exercise of the will, forcing himself to constant movement. To add to the horror of their deplorable condition, in crossing the Berezina the bridge gave way under the heavy ordnance, and in the midst of the panic many were crushed to death among the fallen timbers, and others precipitated into the river to be drowned. Larrey, who had already passed, being deprived by the accident of his instruments, boldly returned for their recovery. In attempting to regain the crossing he would have undoubtedly perished, had he not been recognized by some soldiers, who in their feelings of devotion, passed him over their shoulders to the remaining timbers of the bridge. After the passage of the river, General Zayonzeck received a severe wound; he was a Polisher, who had made the campaigns of Italy, Egypt, and all the northern countries of Europe: Larrey proceeds at once to his rescue, and on the snow, immediately under the cannon of the enemy, amputates his limb. After crossing this river the cold became more intense than they had yet experienced; still they pressed forward in order to reach Osmiana.

On the morning of the 7th of December, after leaving this place, the thermometer fell to  $27^{\circ}$  below zero of Reaumer. It was with difficulty that the men could maintain the erect position, and advance their limbs; if any were so unfortunate as to fall, they rarely ever rose again, but sank into the fatal stupor, from which there was no waking. Their arms had fallen from their hands; the order of the ranks was utterly abandoned: on they marched, or rather staggered, pressing against each other for mutual support, or to elicit a few rays of warmth: their garments were sadly torn and patched, presenting in the diversity of color and fabric, a most grotesque appearance. From Wilna to Kowno the road was literally strewn with dead soldiers, who had perished between the 8th and 9th of December: conversation had entirely ceased; the men never exchanged words, but maintained a sullen silence; and when



overcome, they fell on the snow, their companions never turned upon them a single glance of commiseration, or sympathy. All feeling was frozen up, and these unfortunate beings only moved by a kind of automatic impulse at self-preservation. On reaching Wilna, Larrey was completely exhausted, his courage gone, and just on the point of sinking into a fatal lethargy; he was received by the Gray Sisters of Charity into their hospital, and to their faithful and unremitting care, was he indebted for his life. After recovering in some degree, he visited, at the earliest moment, the hospitals, to make provision for the sick and wounded; after which, indifferent to his own personal condition, he continued his journey during the night of the 10th of December, to Kowno, in order to prepare for others in that place. Shortly after, they crossed the Niemen, the Cossacks ceased to harass their rear, and after reaching Gumbinen, they enjoyed comparative safety and rest. But, alas, what a change! Six months ago, an exceeding great army, the pride and glory of France, superbly equipped and furnished with all the munitions of war; an army of 400,000 men had melted away; only 3000, and those belonging to the guard, most of whom were from the southern part of France, resisted the reverses of the retreat, having still their arms, horses, and military accoutrements. On the 22d day of December, Larrey reached Königsberg, emaciated and feeble, leading the only horse which remained with him, and which had been saved by the precaution taken to have him rough-shod before leaving Insterburg. Weak and fatigued as he was, he immediately visited all the hospitals, giving instructions for the treatment of the cases of congelation. He was soon seized with a violent catarrh, accompanied with typhoid symptoms, which had almost terminated his life. When the evacuation of Königsberg became necessary, he summoned all his strength, having only commenced convalescence, in order to reach Elbing, where were established the headquarters. Though unequal to the task, he desires to make the attempt to ascend the observatory of Copernicus, preserved near Framberg. In retreating to the Elbe, they passed Wittemberg,



where he visited the temple containing the portraits of Luther and Melancthon, the latter of whom he remarked, resembled very much his celebrated master, Sabatier. Melancthon, he further observes, an individual might readily discover, wrote sermons, and Luther delivered them. At Leipsic he visited the anatomical museum, so celebrated for its delicate preparations of the nerves; and at Halle, where he tarried for a day, he met the son of Meckel, a young, but accomplished professor, who exhibited to him the splendid preparations of the human body, which had been made by his father.

#### CAMPAIGN IN SAXONY.

A vigorous effort being made by the allied armies of Prussia and Russia to take a position, after destroying the small French force on the frontiers of France, Napoleon, at the head of some fresh troops, effected a junction with Prince Eugene, and defeated their plan. Larrey immediately received an order to join the grand headquarters at Lutzen, and which he reached with his light ambulances, on the 2d of May. The battle was just commencing; the Commander-in-chief noticing Larrey passing among the troops, rode up and delivered his orders in person, begging him to make every arrangement for the succor of the injured. The field was covered with heaps of the dead and dying; the city of Lutzen was filled with ambulances, and it required two days and nights to dress the wounded. The hospital arrangements being adjusted, he hastened to overtake headquarters at Colditz, and from thence went to Dresden. As there were many in the hospitals requiring amputation he operated before the Saxon doctors. Their mode of removing a limb was, after applying the tourniquet, to make with a curved knife a section through skin and muscles to the bone, which was sawn through on the same plane, and instead of ligatures being applied to the vessels, the hemorrhage was suppressed by forcing the margins of the wound together, and securing by suture. After the battle of Bautzen, on the 21st,



he was exceedingly taxed with arduous duties, in consequence of the number wounded, which amounted to six thousand five hundred. It was while thus engaged, he received an order from the Emperor to repair to Hainaut, where he received a severe shock in beholding the Duke of Frioul, Marshal Duroc, lying on a pile of straw, his face bearing the unmistakable countenance of death.

On returning to Dresden he commenced a course of practical and clinical surgery, which was attended by both Saxon and French surgeons, during the armistice. In consequence of the great number wounded in the battles of Lutzen, Bautzen, and Wurchen, certain persons, for sinister objects, represented to Napoleon that they were self-inflicted. The announcement struck him with astonishment, as it indicated, if true, a degree of disaffection which would be destructive to his success. Larrey was summoned for his opinion as to whether it was possible to determine a distinction between injuries thus received, and those at other hands. As his opinion did not agree with that expressed by some of the other surgeons, a medical jury was ordered to investigate the subject, and over which Larrey was appointed to preside. The Emperor waited with great impatience to hear the result. With diligence Larrey applied himself to a thorough examination of this delicate subject. After several days he appeared before Napoleon, who accosted him with the interrogatory, "Well, sir, do you still persist in your opinion?" "More than that, Sire; I am come to prove to your Majesty that I was right; and that these brave young men have been basely calumniated. There is a deposition in writing of each man, two thousand six hundred and thirty-two in number: your Majesty may order them to be examined." The Emperor, taking his report, paced the floor for a short time with considerable emotion; after which he advanced, and taking Larrey by the hand with a cordial grasp, said, "Farewell, M. Larrey, a sovereign is truly fortunate to have to do with such a man. You will receive my orders." The same evening he received from Napoleon, his picture set in diamonds, 6000 francs in gold, and a pension on



the State of 3000 francs, independent of every other reward to which he might be entitled by his rank, his seniority, and his future services. About this period Larrey undertook to answer several propositions, at considerable length; among which may be mentioned, "the time to trephine," "the management of hernia cerebri," "connection between injuries of the cranium and abscess of the liver," "wounds of the thorax, abdomen, bladder," and "the adjusting of parts partially or entirely severed from the face," &c.

On the 15th of August, the armistice having expired, the Austrians recommenced hostilities, and the engagements at Bober, Pirna, and that near Tomberg, furnished a great number of wounded, many of which were removed to Leipsic, and afterward to Mentz. The treachery of the Bavarian allies, wheeling into the ranks of the enemy at a moment when the French troops were turning the day, determined the retreat from Saxony, in the course of which, from the numerous attacks, his labors were unremitting, and especially after that desperate charge at Hairaw, led by the Emperor in person; and where, being deserted by almost all the surgeons, he was compelled to attend to all the dressings.

#### CAMPAIGN IN FRANCE, 1813.

After organizing the medical staff of the hospitals of Mentz, Larrey was next assigned a work of labor, exposure and danger, that of inspecting the line of evacuation from Mentz to Metz. In many places, especially from Mentz to Sarrebruck, the depots of ambulance were found in a most disgusting condition, requiring him to spend whole nights in removing dead, and decomposing bodies from beneath the rotten straw, none being willing to incur the risks of such a work. He adopted sanitary measures for arresting the epidemic, and instructed those who had charge of the sick, by lectures explaining their several duties. This work completed, he obtained permission to return to Paris and visit his family, which he had not seen since 1812, when he left for Russia.



In January, 1814, he was ordered to headquarters, which had been removed to *Challons-sur-Marne*, and to which the Commander-in-chief had gone with great despatch, the enemies of France advancing in all directions to invade its territory. So rapid were the movements of the army, that he did not overtake it until the 30th, near Brienne, and where he found 500 wounded in the battle which had already taken place, and waiting his aid. Then followed in rapid succession the battles of Troyes, Charapaubert, Montmirail, Chateau Thierry, Montreau and Craonne. In the last, 1,200 soldiers were wounded, of which almost one hundred demanded single, and several double amputations. Many had been collected within the enclosure of a barn-yard, and for a time were overlooked: and although surrounded by Cossacks, with every prospect of being killed or captured, he went to their assistance, and where he found over two hundred terribly mutilated by the artillery, some concealed under the dung, and many of them already dead from hemorrhage. With a rapidity so great as almost to outstrip his ambulances, followed the severe engagement at Rheims, and then Arcis, where the interminable hordes of Cossacks, flocking in from all quarters, seemed to threaten the bands of France with the besom of extermination, and where Napoleon, equal to every emergency, formed those invincible squares, which like mighty walls of steel, proved impenetrable to the most desperate shocks which an army ever sustained. Paris was now threatened, and they marched rapidly to save it from the enemy; but the destruction of the bridges across the Seine detained their progress; the city had capitulated; Napoleon abdicates the supreme authority of the Empire and retires to the island of Elba. That he might leave no part of his duty undischarged, Larrey made his report to the Minister of War, containing the operations of this last campaign. The army being disbanded, he next went to Paris and resumed the inspection of the medical staff of the armies, and also his position as Inspector General, and Surgeon-in-chief to the military hospital of Gros-Caillo.

For the person of Bonaparte, Larrey entertained the most



complete attachment; and it may be said, this feeling was warmly and sincerely reciprocated on the part of the Emperor. When he went to Elba, Larrey desired to be his companion in exile, and received from Napoleon a reply which showed that he loved France more than his own comfort. "It is not without regret, Monsieur Larrey, that I separate myself from you. You belong to the army, and it is your duty to follow it." When Napoleon returned from Elba, in 1815, Larrey was the first to meet and welcome his old commander and friend; and with an eagerness and warmth, which drew from the returned exile the feelings of his heart. "Continue," says he, "your labors, Monsieur Larrey, I hope yet to gain an opportunity of repaying the sacrifices you have made, and the services which you have rendered to our wounded soldiers." And again, at a distribution of colors to the Deputies, from the departments who were commissioned to welcome Napoleon back to France, and on receiving the flag for the department of the "Hautes Pyrénées," he transferred it to Larrey to present to the President of the deputation, saying, "Gentlemen, it affords me unfeigned pleasure to present you these colors, through your compatriot Larrey, who honors humanity by his disinterestedness and his courage. We are indebted to him for having saved a large number of our soldiers in the deserts of Lybia, by giving them freely of the little pure water and spirits which had been reserved for his own use, and of which he himself stood in the greatest need." Indeed, from that day until the disaster of Waterloo, Larrey was the constant companion of the Emperor. On the eve of that great battle, one of his last acts of friendship was an attempt to dispel the shadows of coming misfortune which had already cast a gloom over the mind of Napoleon. During its progress he was not idle for a single moment; operating upon the field, while the carnage was going on, and passing even among the combatants engaged in active mortal strife, to carry, with his flying ambulances, the unfortunate soldier or officer from the ground. But the star of Napoleon was eclipsed; and when Larrey was informed that the French were actually retreating, then only did he think of himself.



Even in this hour of extremity his commander did not forget him; sending through one of his aides, the necessity for a retreat, and directing, in order to secure his personal safety, that he should attempt to gain the frontier by a route which he indicated. It was during this flight that another feature appears in his character to make up the hero. After traveling for one or two leagues with his companions, they were suddenly intercepted by a corps of Prussian lancers. Determined to force his passage, he placed himself at the head of his little band, fired both his pistols into the ranks of the opposing party, and opened a path through which they passed at full gallop. They had passed some distance, when a bullet having entered his horse, the animal fell under him, and before he recovered from the shock, received on the head and shoulder a double sabre wound, which rendered him insensible. Thinking him dead, the Prussians followed his servants and companions, most of whom they either wounded or took prisoners. After his consciousness was restored, he was able to mount his horse which had likewise regained his feet, and directed his course through by-ways and corn fields, and had succeeded in reaching the banks of the Sambre, when he was surrounded by another corps of the same army and was obliged to surrender. He was disarmed and deprived of nearly all his clothes; the officers distributed among themselves the contents of his purse, taking his arms, ring and watch. His figure, and the grey surtout which he wore, resembling those of the Emperor, they were under the impression they had possession of that personage. Securing him to another general officer of rank, and afterward discovering their mistake, they determined to have him shot. For this purpose he was led out, and when in the very act of being fired upon, he was recognized by the Surgeon-major of the regiment, through whose solicitation the consummation of so barbarous an act was suspended, and an order given to conduct him to General Bulow, the Provost-marshal of the allied armies. This officer having seen him at Berlin, at once recognized him as the distinguished surgeon, and was



by no means insensible to his condition, as he was then almost naked, his feet entirely bare, his hands tied behind his back, and his head covered with bloody bandages. Ordering his cords to be removed, he was sent to Blücher, General-in-chief of the hostile armies. To him Larrey was personally known, having saved the life of his son during the Austrian campaign. The Marshal treated him with kindness, and after inviting him to breakfast at his table, he presented him with a sum of money, and afterwards caused him to be conveyed to Louvain, where, from some misunderstanding, he was placed in the house of a poor woman, and while drinking his bowl of onion soup, was again recognized by a young medical officer, who on seeing him, exclaimed in amazement, "You are Baron Larrey," and taking to his heels hastened to make known the fact to the municipality, whereupon he was soon taken to the house of one of the distinguished professional men in Louvain, and from whom he received the kindest proofs of friendship and care. By permission from the commander of the allied powers, he returned to Paris to the society of his family. But now how changed. His long intimacy and association with the Emperor rendered him an object of distrust. From every office and post of honor, over which the government exercised jurisdiction, was he removed, being only retained as surgeon to the hospital of the Guard, thus reducing him to comparative poverty. Among his other misfortunes was the death of an aged and venerated mother, who sank under a pressure of grief, from the erroneous announcement that her son had fallen a victim to his wounds at the battle of Waterloo; and following this event, was the demise of his brother, a surgeon at Nîmes. So extreme had become his resources, that it is creditably related, he contemplated, at the request of many friends, a removal to the United States. Strong in his attachments, he could not, however, leave France; and although solicited by the Emperor of Russia, and Don Pedro of Brazil, to take charge of their armies, with the most flattering offers of emolument and rank, he remained firm to his purpose. It was dur-



ing this period of poverty and melancholy he prepared for the benefit of the world, his fourth volume, containing the campaigns of Russia, Saxony and France. In 1818, his pension of 3000 francs was restored to him, by an act of the Chamber of Deputies. In 1821, the news of the death of Bonaparte was received, and among all the thousands who mourned the event, there were none who more deeply felt than Larrey. As usual, Napoleon had not forgotten him, even in death, but spoke of him to those around, as the most virtuous man he had ever known, and as a substantial proof of his regard, bequeathing to him one hundred thousand francs. In 1826, by permission of the King and the Minister of War, accompanied by his son, he visited England, Wales, Ireland and Scotland, where he was received with every mark of respect and distinction becoming his character and position.

On his return to Paris, he assumed his duties as surgeon-in-chief and Medical Inspector-General, which he had received after the death of Napoleon. In 1830, at the breaking out of the Revolution, his services were again called into active requisition, and performed in so important and satisfactory a manner, as to receive, on the accession of Louis Philippe, the "medal of July." After this event, he, at the request of the king of the Belgians, visited that country, making a thorough organization of all the military hospitals and ambulances. His report was followed by a flattering letter with the king's autograph, accompanied by a gold snuff-box, on which were inscribed the initials of his Royal Highness, in brilliants. In 1834, by permission from the war department, he visited the south of France, and which was to him a tour of much interest and pleasure. He stopped for a time at the place of his birth, and meets, among others, the preceptor of his tender years, the Abbe de Grasset, an old man over ninety years; and in almost every village through which he passed, was he recognized by the crippled remains of the old guard, who, overjoyed at the sight of his venerated person, came forth, some without arms, and others on their wooden pins, to do homage



before his presence, following his carriage for miles, that they might catch a last glimpse of his face. In 1835, he returned again from the south of France, where he had, at the request of the Minister of War, spent some time in visiting the hospitals, in consequence of the prevalence of the cholera, and to whom he presented a detailed and valuable report. In 1840, when the mortal remains of Napoleon were brought home to France, Larrey participated in the formalities attending that great funeral pageant, which he and his associates designated as their "last campaign."

Having a wish to visit again the camp, in 1842 he obtained from Marshal Soult, the Minister of War, an order to visit Algeria, and inspect the hospitals of the French there established. Accompanied by his son, they left Paris, and accomplishing the object of his mission, was on his way home, when he was attacked with pneumonia, and expired at Lyons, on the 25th of July, aged 76 years. His remains were taken to Paris, and on the day when they were deposited in the vault gratuitously prepared by the authorities of Paris, a vast concourse collected to testify their respect for this great man, among whom were the members of the Academy of Sciences, the Society of Medicine, the civil and military authorities, the ancient soldiers of the Empire, and numbers of distinguished citizens. "If ever," said Napoleon, "the military erect a statue, it should be to Baron Larrey, the most virtuous man I have ever known." Posterity is not insensible to the claims of genius, and already two monuments have arisen to the memory of Larrey; one in 1850, in the court of the Val-de-Grace hospital, and the other in the hall of the Academy of Medicine.

It is very natural when an individual has filled a distinguished place in the world, to desire to know something of his personal appearance and habits of life. Let it suffice for me to say that Larrey was the model of a military surgeon. His person a little obese, was not above the medium height; his head was well set and developed, measuring 590 millime-



tres, the same as the Emperor's; his face was somewhat oval, and eyes salient, with a countenance expressive of benevolence and energy; which, with a robust constitution and sanguine temperament, admirably qualified him to endure great privation and fatigue. As an operator, he was judicious, but bold and rapid; calm and self-possessed in every emergency; but full of feeling and tenderness. He stands, gentlemen, among military surgeons, where Napoleon stands among generals; *the first, and the greatest.*



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